3:Naah E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P. 457-A] Teklum

682 156 themselves killed." When they see a man who is abusive while drunk, who brags of his power and of that of his animal-spirit, they will remark: "That man is going to wake up dead" (*sakubk'inal čamel*). When such a man is killed, no one complains, even among his immediate relatives (cases 5, 10, 14, 16, 19, 22, 24, 26, 27, 29, 31, and 32 are of this type). When I asked [562] why women do not get killed, the response was, "They don't look for trouble" (*ma sleik smul*).

682 *Setting*

	Total	*Dawn*	*Afternoon*	*Evening*	*Night*	*??*
Streets of town	11				11	
Milpa, woods, road out of town	10	2	3	2	2	1
Highway	4		1	1	1	1
In cantina	3		1		2	
In houseyard	3			1	2	
In bed	1				1	
Neighboring hamlets & towns	2		1			1
??	3					3
Total	37	2	6	4	19	6

Where the killing takes place and its timing in the diurnal cycle are directly linked. All of the homicides in the streets of the town were committed at night, while those in the roads out of town near the milpa occurred in the late afternoon or evening. In providing privacy and security from discovery, the darkness of night is functionally equivalent to distance from the 682 114 town center during the daytime. When I suggested that the killings might be reduced if the town would connect the lights that had been installed in the streets, the response was that when they had been in use, killings had increased. The lights helped the killer find his victim, perhaps lying out in the road after a drinking session. He would shoot out the light and then kill his victim.

682 579 The only killings in which considerations of space or time were ignored were those in the cantina during a drunken brawl, for in contrast to the usual killing their onset was unpremeditated.

682 The timing of homicide is related also to the annual cycle: 14 homicides occurred during the [527] fiestas in the town or in a neighboring town. [579] The drunkenness of the fiestas provides an appropriate occasion for killing an enemy, although a drunken brawl is in itself rarely a [755] sufficient motive (two cases). Other opportune times are after a curing ceremony (six cases) [273] and after the gathering of curers during an

formal drinking pattern. These limits may be expressed in terms of the necessity to drink under those circumstances when one is a member of a group which is engaging in a ceremonial drinking sequence. Every male is a member of several such groups. Under most conditions the ceremonial drinking segment leads to deep drunkenness. Under most conditions the ceremonial drinking segment is followed by an informal drinking segment. Informal drinking segments also lead to deep drunkenness. Following the participation in such segments, a man probably recuperates for a day before he returns to his regular daily routines. Hence a typical drinking performance may be expressed as ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking + recuperating period.

The ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking pattern is, as we have seen, an essential component of many recurring performances in Aguacatenango. We have described the role of drinking in the celebration of family and community holidays, the certification of civil authority, the resolution of conflict, and the etiology as well as the treatment of illness. The indispensability of drinking to such performances is suggested in the following exchange between the ayuntamiento which is retiring and the ayuntamiento which is entering office (as reported by Juan Perez).

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The four sides of the square house are protected by palm crosses which were nailed to each of the four corner posts during the ceremony of the initiation of the house. These crosses prevent the entry of evil. A fifth cross on the door post, replaced each year on the Day of the Cross, ensures the guardianship of San Pedro the Martyr, the Lord of Lightning.[5]

The idea of the similarity in substance between a house and its inmates originates in the notions about soil (*lum*) and mud (*ʔaẖ'al*). An origin myth concerning the creation of man indicates that God created man out of soil and this mythical identification is reiterated in prayers when the fleshy part of the body is referred to as *hlumeletik*, our soil, and *kaẖ'aletik*, our mud. Whatever soil man comes into contact with—in his house, in the backyard, or in his travels, may contain some of his soul. This belief is demonstrated in the following practices: When a person's soul is lost because of a fright, such as falling or "seeing a spirit," the soil where the incident occurred is scraped into a shirt or skirt belonging to him and deposited in the soil below the head of his bed. Some older informants say that the soil from beneath the bed is scraped up and deposited in the coffin of a deceased inmate of the house, but I have never seen this done. This intimate relation between soul and soil was best illustrated to us when our landlord refused to let us put a cement floor in the interior of his house since it would interfere with the practices described above and other customs in the house ceremonies mentioned below.

The house is constructed in two stages. The completion of each stage requires a ceremony linking the spirits of the inmates to that of the dwelling. The first stage is the erection of the house posts and the wooden frame. When the roof is covered with wood shingles, thatch, or tile, the family may set up temporary walls of boards. They wait until the rainy season to complete the second stage of building up the walls with mud. The first ceremony, called "fiesta for the house," is for "the spirit which resides in the posts," and the second, called "meal for the house," is to feed "the spirit of the house earth." People believe that the mud walls, like their fleshy counterpart, the human body, require nourishment.

5. San Pedro Martyr is referred to by the Indians as *Tatik Mərtil* and is identified with the pre-Conquest deity Lord of Lightning, or *Tatik Ča?uk*.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

342 527 789 *First house fiesta.* In preparation for the fiesta to inaugurate the wooden frame of the house, the older men of the household and the curers make palm crosses called *Tatik Martil,* another reference to San Pedro Martyr. Older men are chosen to do this task because their procreative powers will not be endangered by handling this powerful symbol. Branches of the bushes growing near the springwater of San Nicolás are cut by the younger men of the household to be arranged in an arch, while the women make incense burners and clay candle holders. The protective symbols used in the fiesta—the arch of branches and flowers, the candles, liquor, handrolled cigarettes, palm crosses, and springwater in a gourd—are arranged before the center post of the back wall of the house.

Fig. 1. Relatives Present at House Fiesta

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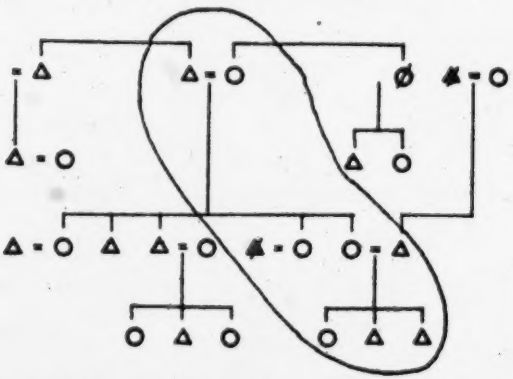

Encircled group will live in house.

342 527 756 788 The activities of a house fiesta observed in 1966 are described below.

The future occupants of the house sat in a row facing the curing arch. Two curers officiated, the elder a resident of the side of the dual division in which the houseowner lives and the second from the barrio in which his son-in-law, Santiago, was born. The elder curer lit the candles at the center post of the back wall, while the younger curer lit those at the center post in the middle wall. The mother of Santiago lit the incense and placed

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

342
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756
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it before he arch. The younger curer then took a bunch of the branches of spring bushes and brushed each person over the head, shoulders, back, arms, and legs. Liquor was passed around to the visitors and participants. The elder curer took the bunch of branches, prayed, and brushed the future occupants. The younger curer followed him with another brushing.

The elder curer put some powder in the springwater. He then took a rattle, stuck it it in a bunch of the leaves from the spring, gave it a couple of shakes as though testing it, and handed it to one of the b'alnial *(young male assistants). He then stood before the candles at the back center post, bowed to it, turned, and bowed to the opposite center post. He poured the springwater in a gourd and gave it to Juliana, the houseowner's daughter, who passed it to each member of the household. The curer then took out four cigarettes and put them on either side of the candles. He greeted everyone present and delivered the following prayer:*

[782]
[839]

May no witchcraft enter.
May all the children be cared for.
I can see and hear who enters.
Of one heart are the women, of one heart are the men.

Santiago began to play the guitar as his wife, Alberta, brought in the coffee and rolls. She handed the first cup to the elder curer. This was followed with a serving of rice and tomatoes. Before he began to eat, the curer said, "good afternoon" to all present.

After the meal, the elder curer led the household members outside. He held one of the palm crosses at the corner post of the house and prayed; then Santiago pounded in a nail to hold it. Each member of the household, including the small children of Alberta, went up and kissed the cross in turn. They went on to the other main posts of the exterior of the house where they did the same thing. They entered the house and continued drinking the rest of the afternoon. Cigarettes were passed around, and the men began to joke. Drinking is compulsory: everyone who attends must drink equal amounts of the liquor served.

[293]

Each of the ritual items is introduced because it contains a powerful soul. The branches and the springwater contain souls associated with the

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

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spring. The gourd is used as a container for the springwater because, like all growing plants and unlike metal or glass containers, it has a soul. The soul of the tobacco plant is considered particularly strong. The smoke of the candles and incense are the media through which prayers to the spirit of the house are transmitted.

[782]

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The house fiesta serves three functions: (1) introducing the spirit of the house inmates to the house spirit, (2) creating a harmonious setting for spiritual interaction of the members of the household and the house spirit, (3) protecting the house against the intrusion of evil. The introduction is achieved by brushing the household members with the branches from the spring, and the harmony is brought about by drinking liquor, playing the guitar, and dancing. The music of the seed gourd, the guitar, and sometimes a radio or phonograph makes the residents, their guests, and the house spirit happy, or "of one heart." Protection is insured by nailing the palm crosses representing the Lord of the Lightning to the house posts.

[788]

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Second house fiesta ("meal for the house"). When a meal is given to the spirit of the house earth, the house is arranged as for the house fiesta with curing arches set in front of the center posts at the back and middle walls. The same guests are invited as for the first fiesta. The family buys a sheep and slaughters it in the morning by stringing it up to the center post by it paws and slashing its jugular vein. When the blood has drained into the square hole opened at the base of the center post, the curer removes the head and buries it in the hole. Some curers bury the four paws as well, while others prefer to add an offering of five pieces of bread in a new pottery jar, twenty measures of chocolate, thirteen cigarettes, and a bottle of liquor covered with a new cloth. The head of the sheep is placed so that the eyes look up to watch over the inhabitants. Some refer to it as the *me?iltatil*, identifying it with the curers (who are called me?iltatil in the context of guardianship) and thus with the ancestor guardians.

During the house fiesta I observed in July 1967, an old curer who had officiated at the first ceremony served again. A neighbor, who was not related to the houseowners but who was skilled in butchering, slaughtered

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

the animal. The curer received from him the severed head and paws which he placed in a large gourd. Then the curer served a potion of herbs in springwater to all of the members of the household. The final ritual act was for the curer to smoke an article of clothing belonging to each member of the household over the incense burning in front of the center arch at the back wall. Liquor was served continaully throughout the ceremony, the first drink always being given to the curer followed by one to the elder houseowner. The first drink was served immediately after the cutting of the jugular vein of the sheep. Flowing blood, water, and liquor are spirit media symbolically linked in ritual behavior. Between each of the major ritual acts—the slaughtering of the sheep, the burial of the head, the serving of the springwater and herbs, and the smoking of the clothing with incense—the curer prayed, but his prayers were so mumbled that I could not hear or record them. Informants said that it was a variation of the prayer given at the first house fiesta. After the rituals, a stew made with the sheep meat was served with tortillas to all the visitors. The music of guitar and gourd rattle, played during the ritual by young male relatives continued after the meal, and the guests remained in the house drinking and dancing for the rest of the afternoon.

Elements of these house fiestas are repeated when any of the children of the household is ill. A severe illness, diagnosed as being caused by the devil eating the soul of the patient, requires offering a meal to the house spirit. The square hole is reopened, and a live black chicken, male if the patient is a boy and female if it is a girl, is placed inside. A food offering of one-fourth liter of liquor, one peso's worth of bread, and 50 cents' worth of chocolate is placed inside with the chicken, and a square board is fitted on top of the hole "to keep the chicken alive for eight days so that the house spirit will hear his cries." When the curing arch is removed, the hole is filled in with dirt over the chicken, now dead, which provides a meal for the spirit house earth.

When the houseowner is sick, an appeal for health is made to the spirit in the house post. The members of the household kiss the post, a splinter is removed and burned in an incense burner with *pom*, the resin of pine. This odor is pleasing to the house spirit.

When a serious illness caused by witchcraft has been cured, the patient

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

621 crucial ceremony for the following reasons: (1) Most of the officials are changed simultaneously, so that, since there is neither carryover in a civil service nor tenure officials, the act of transferring authority carries a greater burden in preserving continuity; (2) The official is integrated in a prior set of kinship and other social relations such that he cannot act anonymously in his official capacity as judge or policeman. Thus one of the functions of the inauguration is a disengagement from the preexisting network of obligations and a priority commitment to the obligations of the office (Parsons, 1951:80–84; Gluckman 1962:34; Cancian 1963); (3) The household ceremony preceding the inauguration provides a setting in which the individual who is about to assume the office learns what is expected of him (Fortes 1959:82).

The inauguration is patterned on a series of acts which symbolically communicate to performers and villagers who participate as observers the desired social goals. The settings in which the change of civil officials is carried out are (1) the house of the incoming official, (2) the town hall, (3) the plaza, and (4) the church. In each arena, the validation and support of the new officials is publicly defined before overlapping sets of participants and observers.

The activities of the inauguration observed in 1965 are recorded below:

621 *On New Year's eve, household celebrations are held in the house of*
• 527 *each new official. The houses are decorated with pine needles on the floor*
574 *and juniper boughs on the porch. The visitors arrive about eight in the evening bearing pitch pine and wood to light the house and provide fuel for cooking. The helpers and guests who attend the evening celebration in the house of the president include relatives, compadres, and neighbors who will support him in his term of office. Primary support is given by the official's wife, without whom he would not be serving in the hierarchy. His advisors and councilors in the household are the nakawanehetik, or household officials. These are men who have passed through at least four religious offices and who are somehow related to the new official. A second group of supporters in the household setting are the* b'alnialetik, *young men who are either brothers, brothers-n-law, sons, compadres, godchildren, or neighbors of the houseowner, and who serve*

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

as errand boys and assistants. A third group are the školtawanchetik, *the female helpers, usually wives of the b'alnialetik or widows who are part of the official's or his wife's family. A fourth group are visitors,* yulatak, *who come to congratulate the new official.* [*The visitors at the house of the first judge are shown in Figure 7.*]

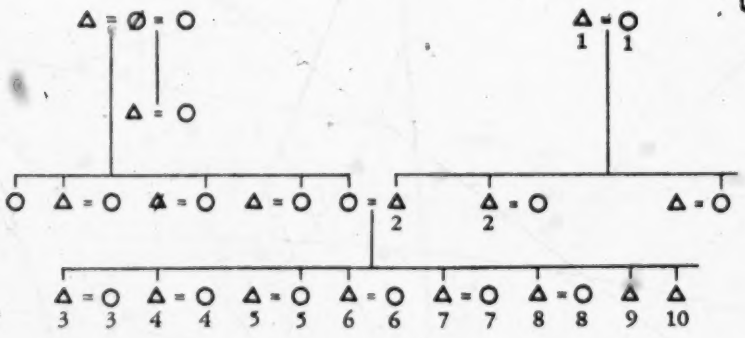
The new official addresses the first nakawane with the following speech:

Official: "Holy evening, Mamtat, to your health."

Nakawane: "Holy evening, Mamtat, to your health."

Official: "Lord, how are you, Mamtat? You are alive, word of God, this holy evening. There is no illness behind your heart."

Fig. 7. Relatives at House of First Judge on Eve of Inauguration



Nakawane: "I live. I feel no illness."

Official: "Lord Mamtat, give pardon with God, with the Virgin Mother. Give holy pardon your mothers, your fathers, with God.

"Give pardon, Lord, give pardon. Virgin mother. Here we are gathered before you where we are seated, our soil, our mud.

"How are we going to succeed in what we will have to do in this holy new year for our patron Lord? Here again in the dawning of the holy hour, let us look into our heart, there where we are going to receive the holy oath inside the holy cold house, the cold hall, where we go receive the work and suffering of the holy staff, the holy wand this holy day, this

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

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[537] *holy year. And so we shall be able to do what our mothers and what our fathers did here where the holy Father sees us and the holy Mother sees us."*

[782] *The formal prayer, using elements of all the addresses of pat?o?tan, presages the events which will take place and announces the continuity with the past in following out the work the ancestors have done. The civil authorities, like the religious authorities, assert that they are taking on a holy responsibility. There is, in the words of the pat?o?tan, no distinction between profane and sacred obligations toward the village.*

[273] *Following the drinking and prayers, liquor is served. Drinking order always follows the elder to younger pattern which, in household settings, is always coincident with prestige ranking. At midnight, coffee, bread, and bean-filled tamales are served.*

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574 *The second series of household gatherings takes place on the morning of New Year's Day in the houses of the new president, the first judge, and the first policeman. It is the duty of the fourth regidor to assemble the other three regidores, and of the assistant judge to assemble the other judges. The two groups, regidores and judges, meet in the first judge's house and are served coffee and liquor. They then proceed to the house of the president. As the judges and regidores arrive there, the visiting group greets all of the assembled guests at the president's house with a prescribed greeting, the* sak'inaltat *and the hand-kissing, called* ?utzk'aab. *The first judge exchanges an extended pat?o?tan with the first nakawane of the president and then liquor is served to all those gathered. The assembled group next stands and "turns toward the rising sun." This is said to be a "defense against the entry of the devil."*

While the higher officials meet in the house of the president, the policemen join togther in the houses of the first policeman on each side of the dual division. Just as in the house of the president, the ceremony consists in serving liquor and coffee. They await the sound of the firecrackers set off in the yard of the president's house before setting out for the town hall. With this announcement of the departure, the officials at the president's house and at the two first policemen's houses set out for the town hall.

621
527 *Gathered in the town hall are the old officials along with the alfereces and the principals. The new officials enter two by two, the president and*

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

621 527 788 [794] [554]

síndico first, followed by the two first judges, the assistant judges of the barrios, the regidores, the judges of the colonias, the two first police, followed by the rest of the police in pairs. As they enter, they kneel and make the sign of the cross, or "measure their noses" (sp'is sni'ik), *an act which shows respect to the holy banners that the alfereces have delivered from the church and laid on the table in the town hall. On this same table are strewn orange blossoms and leaves of laurel with the newly peeled canes of the police and the old staffs of office of the higher officials. The new officials put on their rosaries as they prepare to receive their staffs.*

The principales, fairly inebriated from drinking all morning as they awaited the arrival of the new officials, pass out the staffs assisted by the old president, who helps direct them as they wander in a daze from the table to the line of waiting officials. The second principal picks the staff from the table and hands it to the first principal who passes it on to the recipient. The act of passing over the staffs is a significant index to their role in the hierarchy. They are the only "permanent" officials—permanent so long as they are in good health and not impoverished. They are the link between the outgoing and incoming officials.

The oath of office was given in Spanish by the Ladino schoolteacher the year I observed the ceremony. Formerly, this was performed by the Ladino secretary, but a contest of power in the community resulted in this shift in role performers [*Chapter 9*]. *The inventory of the town's possessions is read by the "old" president*[4] *and each item is inspected as it is passed on to the "new" president.*

After the ceremony in the town hall, all the old officials scatter to their homes and the new officials, wearing their rosaries, go to the church. The principales wait in the town hall for their return.

The new officials follow the alfereces out of the town hall in a procession. The four alfereces, holding their banners, line up before the town hall and dip their banners toward the town hall and then toward the church. They lead the procession of new officials two times around the plaza, stopping in front of the church to dip the banners toward it and the town hall. The order of the procession indicates the rank order of the offi-

4. The officials who have completed their year in office are referred to as "old," and the incoming officials are referred to as "new" at this event.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

621 527 [788] [554] *cials, from the last policeman to the first and second judges. The procession makes two turns "to show [the townspeople assembled in the plaza] who the new officials to remain in office are."*

[794] [782] *Awaiting the arrival of the new officials in the church are all of the mayordomos. Their function is "to watch the officials as they enter to see who they are." The new officials enter two by two and proceed to the altar rail where they "speak to God," asking for health so that they can fulfill their obligation to the town. They kiss each of the saints' pedestals and then leave the "holy mother church" to return to the "holy father cabildo."*

621 527 273 *The first order of the new president is to ask the fourth regidor to buy two liters of the "gift of the ancestors," contraband liquor. When the liquor arrives, the first judge rises and goes to the principales. Standing before them while they remain seated, he asks permission of God to "receive the gift," or drink the liquor, saying, "Give pardon, Mamal Krinsipal; let a little enter and warm your body."*

The policemen, after leaving the church, enter the kitchen shack attached to the town hall. The first new policeman orders the fourth policeman to bring a little trago, and when he returns with the liquor, the first policeman orders one of the policemen of the colonias to measure the drinks. They drink one liter, after which the first policeman of the lower division addresses the first policeman of the upper division in the pat?o-?tan. After the spatbeyo?tan, *or formal address, the first policeman wonders "whether they can endure a little more. Can they drink more liquor without getting drunk?" It is his responsibility to receive any orders from the president, and he wonders, "What should happen if we get drunk? We won't know if there is an errand for the mamal judge and we cannot help. Better rest a while, and if there is an errand we can help a little. If there is no errand, let us drink a little more until midday." At twelve noon both groups retire to their homes to rest their hearts.*

794 527 *Inauguration of religious officials.* The change of the mayordomos occurs twice annually, once on January 6 and a second time on the Day of San Pedro and San Pablo, June 29. San Pedro is associated with

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

the functions of the caretakers of the church because, one informant said, his image shows him holding the keys to the gates of heaven. 794 527

The ritual of the inauguration begins on June 29, a day called Pas Kantelero, *prepare the candle holders. The old mayordomos who have served for the past six months scrape the candle sticks, while two of the group play the drum and blow the flute. Others sweep the church and clean the interior. Then the fiscal and the mayordomos gather outside the church. A table is brought out, and the money that has been collected from each mayordomo by the two cofrades to be used for the purchase of candles is counted. When the money has been counted, two mayordomos ring the bells in the bell tower. Two servings of contraband liquor are passed out, one called "arrival of our food," before the meal, and the other called "wash down the meal," afterwards. Formerly a meal, consisting of a male turkey, or beef soup if the mayordomos could not afford a turkey, with tortillas and chile, was prepared and served in the church yard. This is now eaten in the home of the cofrade because the priest objected to the preliminary drinking session.* [273] [262]

On the second day of the fiesta, called Wilpetel, *the mayordomos "make a fiesta" which consists of beating the drums, playing the flute, and drinking trago. Early in the morning the priest gives a mass for San Pedro and San Pablo attended by the old and new officials and the women.* [533]

A series of house celebrations takes place in the houses of the cofrades. The new mayordomos go first to the house of the cofrade of Santa Lucía. There they are offered the mouthwash, a bowl of cold water with which they rinse their mouths, followed by a round of two drinks each. The Cofrade of Santa Lucía then speaks to the Tatil of San Pedro the Martyr: [273]

Cofrade of Santa Lucía: "Good day, Mamal Tat. Thank you. How do you look, Mamal? Thanks that you are alive, word of God, at daybreak. What will we do? What have we done? We have to speak of what is in our heart, our soil, our mud. So it is as we did in the past. We are all together as are the old officials, where we hear and see with our eyes. Where are we on the very day of his fiesta our saint and our judge San Pedro and

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

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527 *San Pablo? So it is that we are here and that we are united in front of the house. Pardon us, if it is not much, you elders. Where we are gathered together there is nothing flavorful nor is there much. It is only a little to warm your body, the water that washed his body, his hand our old saint San Pedro and San Pablo [reference to liquor]. God thank mother and father, mam kobraria."*

As the mayordomos prepare to leave the house, the following exchange takes place:

Tatil of San Pedro the Martyr: "What are we thinking? How shall we rise to enter the house of the Kobraria Sakramentu? Why is it he does not want us to drink too much? It is good, we would not remember. It is enough. If you will remember, you will say little, mayordomos. Are we not ready with our rosaries and with our kerchiefs and our candles? Is there anything you want to say?"

Cofrade of Santa Lucia: "It is good. I am going to ask you all if you are ready with your rosary and with your cloth to take the holy candles."

Mayordomos: "Yes, good, we are ready, thank you."

Cofrade of Santa Lucia: "Only one more thing do I have to say. Do not drink too much trago. I do not want you to walk like a mad man. I do not want anyone to say that the kobraria did not say anything to advise you."

Mayordomos: "Yes, thanks. It is good. Let us go now. Let us raise our mud, our soil [reference to body]."

The group goes on to the house of the Cofrade of Sacramento who is awaiting them with his nakawanehetik, his b'alnialetik, and the female assistants in the house. They enter saying "Good day, Mamal," greeting first the b'alnialetik, then the third nakawane, then the second nakawane, and finally the first nakawane. The Cofrade of Santa Lucia stands before the first nakawane and recites the spatbeyo?tan. Then he goes on to speak to the me?il k'op, *or woman speaker, who is referred to in this instance as the* me?c'ukuša?il, *"woman who nursed us."*

The women of the kobraria's kindred, the sisters and first cousins and wives of his brothers, remain inside the house as the men sit on the benches on the porch. The nakawane orders the b'alnialetik to serve the mouthwash which is followed by coffee and tortillas. After another

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7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

After another
mouthwash, the b'alnialetik lay a cloth on a small table which is put in the center of the porch, and two liters of trago and a measuring glass are laid on this. The Cofrade of Santa Lucia rises and asks permission of the women, the mayordomos, and all the b'alnialetik to drink the liquor, saying: "God, mother who nurses us, give permission to us so that the water of his body, the water of his hand, the gift will pass in our bodies, that which is the gift of the me?tiktatik. God speaks, tat nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik. Give us permission to hand the gift that will pass in your body from the me?tiktatik. God, Jesus, Mary, only one commander God is three persons. Bless what we eat and what we drink and bless in the name of God the father. God, take the gift, me?ešatel."

The mayordomos, b'alnialetik, and nakawanehetik then make the sign of the cross. The Cofrade of the Virgin Santa Lucia blesses the liquor, saying, "In God's name, God the father, name of God, God the son, Holy Spirit. Yes, I can endure doing what they did, what our mother and what our father did, with my hand which has sinned and my feet which have sinned. Yes, we are changing office on this holy day, this holy year the holy saint, with the holy oath and in the name of God the Father."

The mayordomos drink four measures of liquor, then raise the rest of the drinks to their lips without drinking and take the glass over to one of the nakawanehetik. In this way they show the restraint to which they have been urged in the speeches. At eleven o'clock they leave for the church, putting their red kerchiefs around their necks along with the rosaries. As they set out, the elder nakawane says so the new mayordomos: "May you all get up and go to the church. May you all enter inside the church. May you take the oath inside the church before the face of the fiscal. After you take the oath, make the sign of the cross before the face of the Tatik Jesus Christ. After you have made the sign of the cross, when you enter inside the door of the church, the mamal new kobraria will give the account to the mamal old kobraria."

Sitting within the church are the old mayordomos and the fiscal who have remained there after the mass. They are awaiting the new mayordomos. Two of them play the drum and the flute. The new mayordomos enter, the elder and junior mayordomo of each saint walking together, and kneel before the image of Tatik Jesus Christ. The church has been ar-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

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527 *ranged with a large table in the center, the candles allotted to each mayordomo laid out in bundles of nine. On the table is a little cross of the crucified Christ. The priest blesses the new mayordomos and the old mayordomos. Then the fiscal gives nine candles wrapped in a napkin to each mayordomo. The nič'nal, junior mayordomo, of each saint first takes the candles allotted to the tatil to the latter's house, and then takes his own to his house. After the oath, the new mayordomos return to the house of the Cofrade of Sacramento where they drink until prayer time in the evening.*

On the sk'ak'alel Sk'in, *the true day of the fiesta, the new mayordomos go to hear the mass along with women prayer-reciters at seven in the morning. They then go to the house of the Cofrade of Sacramento, leaving three junior mayordomos to play the drums and flute at the door of the church. In the house of the cofrade, they count the money of the Virgin and of San Pedro the Martyr. This fund of money is passed over from the outgoing officials to the incoming officials along with interest. It is now being loaned out to local entrepreneurs. The Virgin has a fund of 228 pesos, and San Pedro the Martyr has 40 pesos. The fiscal supervises the counting of the money, and records the sum, after which the pat?o?tan is recited and drinks are served.*

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554 In the behavioral sequences of the inauguration, several features of the structure and functioning of the hierarchy can be noted. First, one can see in the actions of the officials that the hierarchy of civil officials is not a smooth step ladder but a segmented order. The categories of officials, the alkaletik, rehiroletik, and mayoletik, act in concert, move in unison, and sit in the same area in all the settings. Each of the three categories has its internal hierarchy, ranging from first to fourth (and in the case of the mayoletik, from first to fifth, physically denoted by the order in which they sit and drink. Those who speak the greetings are the men in the first position of each category. They command their group or the group immediately below them. Thus, the judge orders the fourth regidor to get liquor, and the first policeman orders the police from the rural colonia to get liquor. By these behavioral indices one can see the ordering and grouping by age, skill in praying, and territorial identification within the segments of the civil-religious hierarchy. These principles apply, however,

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

only to ordering between segments; because of the uneven civil careers of the incumbents, a man in the lower ranks within a segment may be older than another in the same rank because he started his career later.

A second significant feature of the inauguration behavior is the sacred quality of the acts, indicated by the words of the pat?o?tan—"holy office," "holy cold house," "holy staff, holy wand," "holy day and holy hour." The presence of the alfereces, the observation of the new civil officials by the religious officials, the movement from the town hall to the church and back to the town hall are the behavioral links between "our holy mother church and our holy father cabildo."

The behavioral elements in the inauguration of the religious officials parallel those in the inauguration of the civil officials. As in the case of the latter, the ritual takes place in both domestic and public settings—the house of the new officials and the church. In both inaugurations, the same feature of "raising" (rounding up for gatherings) the officials occurs: those of lower rank gather in the houses of successively higher officials, finally entering the house of the highest official. In each setting, the same ritual acts are performed—the formal greeting, the serving of coffee and bread followed by bean tamales, the request for permission to drink, and the serving of the "gift" of liquor. In the household setting for both civil and religious officials the same role performers—nakawanehetik, b'alnialetik and školtawanetik—lend their support.

In the religious hierarchy the symbolic "tools" of office of the mayordomos are candles while those in the civil hierarchy are canes. In the case of the inauguration of the religious officials, the inventory involves counting the money collected for each saint rather than accounting for the possessions owned by the town. An inventory of the saints' clothing is not made as in other towns, possibly because the lay sisters living in the town maintain this stock of equipment.

The formalized speech of the pat?o?tan is an important social tool in both public and private ceremonials. Characteristic of the speech are the elaboration of simile and metaphor (*me?ba?al, wokol:* poverty and trouble in reference to one's house; *lumiltik kal'aletik:* clay and mud in reference to bodies; *snuk shoy:* his joined one, his companion in reference to one's wife; *sapil yok' sapil sk'aab k'a santuetik k'a peroltik:* the washings

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

621 794 527 of the legs and arms of our patron lord, Jesus, in reference to liquor). The prayer-like intonation, together with repeated invocation of the gods, gives [192] a sacred quality to the words.

[203] Liquor, referred to as "the gift of God" or "gift of the ancestors," is of crucial significance in both civil and religious ritual. Receiving an offering of liquor is tantamount to accepting part of the spiritual essence of the donor. Drinking in each of the domains—the house, the town hall, and the church—serves to tie together different sets of participants in the obligation system of service to the community. In Mauss' terms (1954:11) receiving the gift defines "a pattern of spiritual bonds between things which are to some extent parts of persons, and persons and groups, that behave in some measure as if they were things."

[203] In both inaugurations an attempt is made to control the intake of liquor so that the officials can function in the ritual. This is shown in the civil inauguration when the first policeman thinks about whether the police can take another drink and still carry out their duties. It is more explicit in the religious inaugurations when the cofrades warn the mayordomos that they should not drink so much that they "walk like madmen." The mayordomos then pass on the drinks served to them to the nakawanehetik who drink them and fall into a stupor.

621 794 527 793 875 In noting the difference between elicited and performed ritual, minimal changes in behavior provided clues to structural change. The change of custom as to where the meal of the mayordomos takes place (it now is given at the house of the cofrade rather than in the courtyard of the church) indicates a significant shift in the relation between the priest and the local religious leadership. The priest has gained control over the church since he has taken up residence in the parish house. The incident in which the confrontation took place is described in Chapter 9. Divergence of the performed from the expected ritual in the inauguration of the civil authority occurred when the schoolteacher delivered the oath instead of the former Ladino secretary. This revealed the schoolteacher's increasing power in his competition with the former cacique.

621 794 527 The rituals of both civil and religious inaugurations reveal the sense of the sacred obligation to the ancestors. Although both the roles and the scheduling of events are derived from outside the culture, the necessity for

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

undertaking the burden of office is still phrased as a means of maintaining the internal system of security. Tying the new official to personal supporters in the household setting is a significant means of integrating the Spanish governmental system with the preexisting authority systems.

The emphasis on continuity is evident in the prescribed pattern of behavior stressing repetition of bodily and verbal performances. Repetition of behavior, the essence of all ritual, provides that fulfillment of expectations which links the present with the past.[5] The nakawanehetik, who are the repositories of knowledge of the customs of the ancestors, are stage directors of acts performed in the house. Behavioral replication is reinforced by verbal references in the pat?o?tan to performing "that which our mothers, that which our fathers did." When any act has lost the wider context of belief in which it must at one time have been embedded, the reason given for the performance is simply "so was the custom of our ancestors." As an example of this, the officials in the president's house on the day of the inauguration stand and bow in the direction of the rising sun. A few informants have heard of the God of the East, Santo Ariyó, the saint in charge of household gods who gave to the people corn, wheat, beans, and cattle, and they say that it is in recognition of him that people turn to the East and bow their heads in all household performances. They further state that in this act they defend the house against the entry of the devil. But the mythological context which might explain the logic of this association is lost. These behavioral sherds, when cut off from the belief system which they dramatized, survive in perpetuating the customs of the ancestors.

The link with the past is also seen in the presence of both new and old officials in the town hall, providing a setting in which the succession of the new officials is acknowledged by the old. The role of the principales is of the greatest importance in establishing continuity, significantly emphasized in the fact that it is they who hand over the symbol of authority, the

5. Bunzel (1952:251) has pointed to this familiarity of ritual sets in a variety of ceremonials as providing ties with the past in the inauguration in Chichicastenango, and Vogt (1966) has shown the significance of replication in the ceremonials of Zinacantan. Another function served by behavorial replication is that which Leach (1967:2) pointed out for verbal replication in myths and prayers: it overcomes the "static" of less significant background interference.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

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newly cut pine canes of the police and the old carved and painted staffs of the higher officials.

Order and measure, respect and deference are the social effect achieved in the ritual performance of the inaugurations. In the act of drinking, these principles become behaviorally explicit. The drink is carefully measured out and passed to the first principal, who asks permission to drink it of each set of officials in order of their ranked positions in the hierarchy. Each official must receive the drink, whether he is a teetotaler or not. He will then perform the action of drinking, which is sufficient to express his good will as part of the group. The symbolic act of pretending to drink—receiving the "gift" and raising it to one's lips without imbibing—reveals the importance of acts *as such* in social interaction. This is expressed in the [192] Tzeltal loan term *ʔaksion*, from the Spanish *acción*, the pretended act, which demonstrates in this case one's good will in joining in the communal act. We have a tendency in our culture to downgrade the act, stressing motive specific to the immediate goal of the act. If performance is motivated by other goals, we express it in phrases such as "He is only acting," or "It was all a big act." In Tzoʔontahal, the play is the thing, and everything can be justified by reference to traditional expectations.

Before describing some of the organizational changes which are affecting the civil-religious hierarchy, I shall at this point assess its viability on the basis of structural criteria. These criteria include the effectiveness of the system in (1) coordinating roles such that conflict is minimized in carrying out tasks, (2) motivating people to enter into office and fulfill obligations, (3) absorbing changes without structural modification.

The primary devices for coordinating roles in the hierarchy are those of relative age and residence in the dual division. The major challenge to the age-respect pattern has been the introduction of young leadership in the roles of president and síndico. This shock to the system has been somewhat overcome by the retention of the ceremonial primacy of the principales. The president and síndico are considered outside the traditional hierarchy. This conceptual isolation of the roles becomes obvious when one asks informants to list the civil officials, for they never include the president and síndico in the first response. They are mentioned in response to repeated enquiries as to whether there are other officials.

621 578 582 them to "overlook" the trespasser, but not many young men are willing to risk the ire of the other barrio bachelors, nor the gossip and sanctions applied to them by their own barrio mates.[1]

621 794 Each barrio plays a role in the political and religious organization of the village by sending an approximately equal number of officers to the Ayuntamiento and the Mayordomías. Although in some years there are more delegates from one barrio, they attempt to correct the imbalance in the succeeding years. [623] The Principales (council of elders) have also equal representation.

621 [573] [575] [312] Escuadrilla groups (adolescent boys' gangs) and unmarried women's Church groups are formed among barrio mates. Women, with few exceptions, used the water wells or pipe lines in their barrio of residence (the exceptions include women who originally came from the other barrio) and who do their washing at places in [496] the river on their barrio side. Men who work together at such tasks as buying and butchering a cow, building a path or clearing an irrigation ditch belong to the same barrio. House parties [527] [183] organized to buy candles for the Church before a special Saint's day are barrio affairs, and no resident of the other barrio (with [575] the exception of the anthropologist) is invited. In the past, there were, in Aguacatenango, religious sororities sponsored by the Catholic Church, and each barrio had a separate one. There

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[581] [587] [1]A man that has married once is considered to have had his share of the available women of the barrio. Second marriages, especially with girls who have never married before, are not well thought of. It is common, then, that second marriages occur across barrio lines. A man finds it easier to cope with the antagonism of the other barrio men (who are expected, in any case, to be antagonistic) than with the bachelors and neighbors in his own barrio, where he has to face the antagonism in every day interaction.

342 which usually indicates the emergence of a new domestic group.
592 Its social importance is related to several factors.

342 When the young couple build their first separate house,
591 this symbolizes their right to become a separate domestic group.
592 It means that they have lived together long enough to raise one or more children past the age of weaning, and that they have become economically and jurally independent of their parents.

342 (See later discussion on residence.) The building itself is a
156 material display of a man's good social relations. Although
571 house size does not correlate with the number of people living in it, the villagers think that a house "talks" about its owners. A very small house tells the villagers that it is a "drunk-man house" because his owner spends all his money on liquor and cannot buy materials for building a better place. The house also tells of the amount of industrious effort that a man and his family are able to put into its construction, and it tells about how much his relatives and neighbors are willing to "loan hands" to him (help for house building is not paid for in money, but in
[177] reciprocal labor). A house is also a good indicator of how much "ladino influence" its owner has assimilated. Houses with ladino influence would have internal divisions in the rooms, windows, painted walls and/or tile roofs. (This type of house is not common, as can be seen in Fig. 12 and Table 5.)

342 The building of a house is followed by a "house warming"
[527] ceremony, in which offerings to the Mother-Earth or Saintly Earth
[782] and the house are buried under the floor. The ritual preparation of a new home is part of a complex ideological identification between people and their homestead.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 111]

121 it is impossible to do it taking into account any other variable in isolation. Social structures are built up around several simultaneously activated domains of phenomena. Kinship (or the biological facts of birth and copulation and the concomitant social facts of descent and affinality) is one domain. Economics (or the system for the production and allocation of rights over material goods and services) is another domain. Territorial allegiances, based on spatial proximity or distance, is another. The domain of the psychological (the inherent needs of human beings for sociality, positive affection, the sharing of moral values with other men [and perhaps the need for controlling others]), is still another domain.

182 796 If we take ritual as a projective system of the importance of social domains, we can see that it involves, in every case, several of them.

[571] [527] [764] [602] [241] For example, in Aguacatenango and Amatenango, ritual practices are oriented towards: (1) expressing tensions between individuals among whom harmonic relations are re-established through the curing ceremony; (2) expressing the territorial attachments of people, such as the ceremonies for housewarmings and the fact that in the cemetery people are buried according to the place in which they resided (the cemetery is a small replica of the village); (3) expressing kinship bonds, such as the marriage ceremony, the baptisms and compadrazgos, the food given to the ancestors on Todos Santos, etc.; (4) expressing economic needs, such as the rituals performed to insure the success of the harvest.

000 Within the same cultural frame, two social groups can